

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTO 1052

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENT AND DR. BRZEZINSKI

DEPARTMENT FOR ACTING SECRETARY AND TARNOFF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: EG, IS,OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R)
SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S FINAL MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, JAN. 19

1. I HAD A FINAL 1-1/2 HOUR MEETING ETHIS EVENING WITH
PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN. BEGIN
WAS CALM AND REFLECTIVE AND IT WAS, ON THE WHOLE, A GOOD,
SUBSTANTIVE TALK.

2. WE BEGAN BY REVIEWING THE LATEST DRAFT OF DECLARATION
PRINCIPLES, DISCUSSING IN PARTICULAR VARIOUS FORMULA-
TIONS THAT MIGHT RESOLVE THE REMAINING, RATHER WIDE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL WITH RESPECT TO
THE PALESTINIAN/WEST BANK/GAZA ISSUE. BEGIN WAS AT THE START,
READY TO ACCEPT THE HELPFUL PROPOSAL DAYAN MADE IN OUR
LAST MEETING YESTERDAY TO INCLUDE THE PHRASE "A JUST
SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM" IN THE SAME
PARAGRAPH AS THAT DEALING WITH FULFILLMENT OF ALL THE
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PRINCIPLES OF SC RESOLUTION 242. DAYAN RECOGNIZES THAT
SUCH A PHRASE IS ESSENTIAL FOR THE ARABS. BEGIN
FINALLY SAID HE WOULD AGREE TO THIS GOING IN A SEPARATE
NEW PARA 3. BEGIN CONTINUES TO INSIST, HOWEVER, ON HIS
LANGUAGE REFERRING TO "PALESTINIAN ARABS RESIDING IN
JUDEA, SAMARAI AND THE GAZA DISTRICT BUT IS WILLING TO
ACCEPT WEST BANK AND GAZA IN THE ENGLISH TEXT." IN

ADDITION TO THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, SOME OTHER IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES REMAIN BETWEEN THE EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS WITH RESPECT TO ALL BUT TWO OF THE OTHER PRINCIPLES. I HAVE THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE ANXIOUS TO COMPLETE THIS PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THAT THERE WILL BE FURTHER FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR POSITION. BEGIN MADE CLEAR THAT, IN ANY CASE, HE CANNOT MAKE ANY COMMITMENTS WITH REGARD TO THE FINAL TEXT OF THE DECLARATION UNTIL HE HAS CONSULTED THE CABINET. I AM ENCLOSING A REVISED COPY OF THE DRAFT TEXT, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, AFTER OUR TALKS WITH BEGIN. I WILL HAVE A BETTER FEEL AFTER MY MEETING WITH SADAT ABOUT WHETHER THERE IS AN EQUAL DESIRE ON HIS PART TO COMPLETE THE DECLARATION. IN ANY EVENT, THE FACT REMAINS THAT IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED WITH RESPECT TO POINT 5 OF THE DECLARATION.

3. WE ALSO DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF RECONVENING THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, AND BEGIN MADE CLEAR THAT HE HOPES THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, AGREE TO AN IDEA MENTIONED TO HIM LAST NIGHT BY EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KAMEL THAT BOTH COMMITTEES MEET IN CAIRO. DAYAN SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE DECLARATION COULD BE COMPLETED WITH OUR HELP EVEN BEFORE THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE RECONVENES, AND THAT THIS MIGHT
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PROVIDE THE IMPETUS NECESSARY BOTH TO GET THE NEGOTIATIONS STARTED AGAIN AND TO BRING HUSSEIN IN. I WILL EXPLORE THIS THOUGHT WHEN I SEE SADAT.

4. THE OTHER PRINCIPAL SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION, WAS WHETHER ISRAEL WAS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AT THE END OF A 5-YEAR PERIOD IF ITS SECURITY CONCERNS COULD BY THEN BE ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARDED. I REMINDED BEGIN THAT WE CONSIDER THAT RESOLUTION 242 APPLIES TO ALL FRONTS. BEGIN SEEMED TO MOVE SLIGHTLY BEYOND THE POSITIONS HE HAS STATED TO US BEFORE. HE SAID THAT ISRAEL HAS A CLAIM TO SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN BUT NOT EXERCISE THIS CLAIM DURING THE FIVE YEARS; THAT THE STATUS OF THOSE AREAS WILL BE REVIEWED AT THE END OF 5 YEARS; AND ALL OF THE 26 PROVISIONS OF HIS SELF-RULE PLAN (INCLUDING IDF RESPONSIBILITY FOR SECURITY AND PUBLIC ORDER AND EVEN SOVEREIGNTY) WILL BE NEGOTIABLE, BUT THAT ISRAEL'S CLAIM WILL NOT BE GIVEN UP "IN MY LIFE". THERE WAS A GLIMMER IN HIS COMMENT THAT IN FIVE YEARS, HE WILL NO LONGER BE PRIME MINISTER. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION

WHETHER HE RULED OUT A CONFEDERATION OF THE WEST BANK WITH JORDAN, BEGIN SAID HIS DREAM WAS OF INCREASING COOPERATION LEADING ULTIMATELY TO A CONFEDERATION BETWEEN JORDAN AND ISRAEL OFWHICH THE WEST BANK AND, OF COURSE, GAZA WOULD BE A PART. HE REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT, WHATEVER THE WISHES OF SADAT AND HUSSEIN, THE PLO THROUGH INTIMIDATION WOULD TAKE OVER ANY INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN ENTITY IN 24 HOURS, AND THAT ISRAEL'S MILITARY PRESENCE CAN PREVENT THIS. THE UPSHOT OF THIS PART OF OUR DISCUSSION IS THAT, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS, IF WE SUCCEED IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NEXT AGENDA ITEM (GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATIONS RELATING TO THE ISSUE OF THE WEST SECRET

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BANK AND GAZA) WILL BE TOUGH SLEDDING.

5. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DECLARATION AS WE HAVE REIVSED IT TO REFLECT THIS CONVERSATION WITH BEGIN AND DAYAN. THIS HAS NOT REPEAT NOT BEEN CLEARED WITH THEM AND SHOULD BE READ ONLY AS OUR WORKING VERSION. REGARDING PARA 4 AND THE BRACKETED PARA 5, THE ISRAELIS PREFER THE TWO-SENTENCE PARA 4 WHILE THE EGYPTIANS WOULD DROP THE SECOND SENTENCE AND TURN IT INTO THE BRACKETED SEPARATE PARA 5. REGARDING PARA 5, 5-A REFLECTS ISRAELI VIEWS WHILE 5-B REFLECTS THE EGYPTIAN PREFERENCE.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO REACH A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE REGION.

2. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNITED NATION SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 338, THE TWO GOVERNMENTS EXPRESS THEIR WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE PEACE TREATIES IN FULFILLMENT OF ALL THE PRINCIPLES OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

3. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS AGREE THAT THERE SHALL BE A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM.

4. THERE WILL BE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 CONFLICT. (THERE WILL BE SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES FOR ALL STATES IN THE REGION.)

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(5. BOUNDRIES BETWEEN ALL THE STATES IN THE AREA
WILL BE SECURE AND RECOGNIZED.)

5-A. THE PALESTINIAN ARABS IN JUDEA, SAMARIA (THE
WEST BANK), AND GAZA WILL BE ENABLED TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR FUTURE THROUGH TALKS
AMONG EGYPT, JORDAN, ISRAEL, AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THESE
PALESTINIAN ARABS.

5-B. THERE SHALL BE A JUST RESOLUTION OF THE
PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ALL ITS ASPECTS WHICH RECOGNIZES
THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND
ENABLES THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF
THEIR OWN FUTURE THROUGH TALKS IN WHICH EGYPT, JORDAN,
ISRAEL, AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE
WOULD PARTICPATE.

6. THERE WILL BE TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS OR STATES
OF BELLIGERENECY AND RESPECT FOR AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE
SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL
INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA AND THE
ESTABLISHMENT, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE
UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, OF NORMAL, PEACEFUL RELATIONS
THROUGH THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES.
VANCE

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